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VI.—*Memoir of Researches amongst the inscribed Monuments of the Græco-Roman Era, in certain ancient Sites of Asia Minor.* By JAMES KENNEDY BAILIE, D.D., late F.T.C.D., and Lecturer of Greek in the University.

Read May 9 and 23, 1842.

PART I

THE APOCALYPTIC CITIES.

I. THERE are few departments in the extensive field of classical antiquities which have excited greater interest, or to which scholars have applied themselves with more zeal, than the philology of inscriptions; those memorials of past ages which, more intimately than perhaps any other monuments, bring us into contact with the laws, the institutions, the manners, and, it may in a certain sense be added, the languages of the civilized nations of antiquity. On this point I feel assured, that it is quite unnecessary for me to enlarge at any great length in the hearing of my present auditory, composed as it is of persons who are fully prepared by their respective studies and accomplishments, to acquiesce in the truth of what is here stated; but as it has fallen to my lot, recently, to be placed in circumstances peculiarly favourable to the giving me a somewhat clearer insight into the various details of this branch of literature than I had ever possessed before, to a juster appreciation of its value, and to the improvement of my knowledge of it, by enabling me to prosecute my studies and my researches at the very fountain-head, it will not, perhaps, be regarded in the light of a presumptuous attempt on the part of the writer of the present memoir, to endeavour, by submitting it to their consideration, to awaken a spirit of inquiry commensurate to the importance of the subject. This, in the present state of literature and literary research, it would be difficult to overrate.

The Continental philologists, particularly those of Germany, have long since devoted their attention, proverbially so unwearied, to the elucidation of these remains. Their profound and exact learning has contributed in a pre-eminent degree to its establishment, as a most valuable and interesting department of literature. They have travelled with the zeal, and deciphered with the acumen, of devoted students; or from the professor's chair have poured fresh streams of light on the sense and construction of the monumental language. I here refer especially to the Germans; and, for evidence of what I state, I deem it sufficient to mention the names of Thiersch and Creuzer, of Müller and Böckh. The "*Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*," of the last of these scholars, will long remain a monument of his industry, learning, and profound research; it affords, at the same time, a convincing demonstration of the utility of this branch of philological science; for by his exact acquaintance with it, he has been enabled to clear up many points of extreme interest in the social economy of the ancient inhabitants of Greece, which had been involved in much obscurity before. It has supplied him with an extensive and a solid basis for the construction of his most valuable work, "*Über die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*," an attentive perusal of which is of such essential importance in the investigation of the Attic monuments, and the study of the Attic literature.

To the third of the abovementioned names, the deceased and lamented Müller, I cannot refrain from paying the tribute of a well-merited eulogium. He also was distinguished amongst the foremost in this, as well as in other departments of Greek learning. With the genuine ardour of a Philhellene, he visited the shores of Greece, penetrated into her territory, mixed with her children, disinterred from the sepulchres in which they had lain so long entombed, the sculptured monuments of her pristine magnificence, and gave them once more meaning and life. I shall not soon forget the impressions which were made upon me when visiting one of his favourite scenes. It was at Castri, the representative of the ancient Delphi. I was conducted by his host to the site of the Apolloneum, and within an enclosed space to which he directed my attention, on the very ground of the Peribolus, I found ranged the huge masses of engraved and sculptured blocks, which by Müller's perseverance had been laid open to view. Here was labour for months; I might say more truly, for years; for the entire extent was one continued series of engraved characters; the re-

ords of the Pythian shrine for generations on generations; and yet the part which had been exposed, formed, in all probability, but a small proportion of the monuments which still remained under ground; and which the deceased scholar would doubtless, had his life been spared, have rescued, as he had done their fellows, from their present state of oblivion.

The efforts which Müller made cost him dear. A few months before my arrival at Delphi, he had been carried off by a malignant fever, which had been brought on by his incessant labours. It is said that he was engaged in preparing a history of Greece, and that this visit to her shrine had been paid in the hope of discovering amongst its vast mass of inscribed monuments, inedited materials for his projected work. Nor would his expectations have been disappointed: for the little which I was enabled to observe, and the less to glean, amongst those treasures, sufficed to convince me that a rich and abundant harvest awaits the student in that spot, whether his attention be devoted to the sacred annals of Greece, or to researches into her dialects.

The great work of Professor Böckh to which I have referred, leaves, it is true, all other publications of the same class at a vast distance behind it. It may most justly be styled a national performance, and has been executed with talent proportioned to the munificence of the government under whose auspices it has been published. It is impossible to read a page of that work without being impressed with the highest admiration of the learning and critical acumen of the author. It is a vast repertory of political and philological learning. Under the first of these heads, I comprehend all subjects which relate to civil economy, all hieratic details, all private or domestic contracts; under the second, the philology of archaic forms, as well as the more known usages of the refined dialects of Greece and its dependencies.

But justice to the merits of British scholars demands a meed of praise to be awarded to them, for having contributed in no ordinary degree to the advancement of this literature. We all are acquainted with the names of Pococke, Chandler, Chishull, Clarke, and Rose. I mention these amongst a great number of others, as the representatives of their class, but not by any means as entitled to a monopoly of the honour which is due to talent, labour, and research. The "*Antiquitates Asiaticæ*" of the third of these, Edmund Chishull, was a publication in all respects worthy of the character which he had already acquired by

his work on the Bustrophedon Inscription of Sigeum, and which had brought him into a certain degree of collision, not derogatory to his scholarship, with the illustrious Bentley. This, and the publication which succeeded it, I reckon to be, on the whole, the most important of any which had appeared on palæography before the volume of Rose, who, in redeeming the pledge which his abilities and learning had given, had the advantage of an improved state of antiquarian knowledge, and of literary correspondence of the highest order.

His learned volume, entitled "*Inscriptiones Græcæ vetustissimæ*," was published in 1825, at the expense of the University of Cambridge, and is enriched with prolegomena and notes, evincing considerable research, a great part of them, moreover, the fruits of his intimacy with Professor Böckh.

A kindred spirit has animated the scholars of other nations; for example, Italy and France; the first of which can recount such names as Maffei, Lanzi, Visconti, amongst her contributors to this department of learning; whilst France has had her Spon, a traveller,—and amongst her antiquarians, a Barthélemy, a Raoul de la Rochette, and a Boissonade. I refrain from naming another who certainly made considerable noise in his day, but whose archæographical exploits in the Peloponnese have handed down his name to posterity with a somewhat worse than an equivocal reputation attached to it: for it is, I believe, a matter of notoriety, that the researches of Fourmont have not benefited scholars so much as his vain and dishonest pretences have occasioned them trouble in disengaging the ore from the dross, what was truly classical and authentic from the unlearned and spurious admixture.

The character of this traveller may be sufficiently estimated from the fact, that Professor Böckh has devoted an article of much length, in his great work, to the exposure of his forgeries. Nay more, it is even reported of him, but with what truth I can only judge from hearsay, that, such was his narrow-mindedness and illiberality, he caused, in many instances, monuments to be defaced, lest succeeding travellers should profit by their inspection. This at least I can state with certainty, that some instances of this ungenerous temper have been pointed out to myself during my tour in Greece.

In concluding this part of my subject, it may be interesting to my audience for me to remark, that the educated classes of Modern Greece are directing their attention to this amongst other branches of Hellenic literature. It was

my good fortune, during my stay at Athens, to become acquainted with the gentleman* who is at present employed by the Greek government as Curator of Antiquities in that metropolis, and to benefit by many interesting conversations with him on the present state of learning in Greece, and the progress of his researches. He is himself an author, having given to the public a topographical account of ancient Athens, which has been translated into several of the modern languages. He has collected, moreover, in the Acropolis and the Theseium (which were the principal scenes of my labours), a considerable number of statues, busts, reliefs, and inscribed tablets, most, if not all of which, have been published in Ephemerides, and in his own work. This consideration, however, did not deter me from prosecuting my researches in the same field, and holding a converse on Minerva's height, or within the sanctuary of the hero-god of Athens, with her jurists, her priests, her statesmen, and her warriors.

But I press forwards somewhat too rapidly. Greece, though the principal scene of my labours, was one of the last; and it is my present intention to lay before my fellow-academicians, with all the respect which is due to so learned and distinguished a body, a summary of my researches in the order in which they were conducted. I might have observed a different, and, for some purposes, perhaps a more convenient arrangement; I mean by this, a classification of the documents which I have collected, according as they related to public or to private concerns, to secular or religious, to the historical or the purely legal. Of all these I possess examples, viz., treaties, lists of magistrates, treasury accounts, temple inventories, epitaphs, with a great variety of others, which have unfortunately been so mutilated and defaced, as to afford a wide scope to the student in such matters for the exercise of his palæographical sagacity.

Now, an arrangement under these several heads presents many advantages, when the subject is made a study: and a more convincing proof of its expediency cannot be cited than from the great work of Professor Böckh, wherein the reader is at a loss which to admire most, the lucidity of the disposition or the accuracy of the details. But as the circumstances under which I appear before the Academy, and hope shortly to present myself before the public, are somewhat different from those of the mere editor, I have deemed it best to be guided in a

* 'Ο κύριος Πιττάκι.

great measure by them, that is, to follow the course of my recent travels ; to conduct my hearers over the ground which I have traversed ; and at my halting-places to share with them my palace, my hovel, or my tent, as the case may be ; and then to unpack before them my treasures of by-gone ages, whether sought in the desert, or amidst the habitations of my fellow-men ; whether surrounded by the ruins of ancient splendor, or the tombs of departed greatness ; whether exposed to the chilling blasts of the alpine region, or fanned by the zephyr of the valley, or scorched with the rays of a tropical sun. Limited as I was to a certain period of absence, it was quite impossible for me to consult my ease, or the state of the weather, in making my visits to ancient sites. With but rare exceptions, I was in constant motion ; I was in consequence subjected to innumerable hardships and inconveniences, from which travellers in those imperfectly civilized regions, who have time at their command, are enabled to exempt themselves. I was accordingly forced to traverse the burning plains of Asia Minor in the dog-days, and to make my visit to Greece during mid-winter, in which region I shall not soon forget the perils my health and person encountered, more especially in the interior of the Morea, where the country has been, until very lately, a perfect wilderness ; and the more civilized districts of which are but slowly emerging into social life, after the terrible vengeance wreaked upon the Moreotes by the hordes of the Egyptian Pasha. Roofless dwellings, wasted fields, ruined villages, and an impoverished people bade mournful welcome to my retinue and myself, after many an hour's exposure to "the pelting of the pitiless storm" in the alpine solitudes of the Peloponnese. Nor has that scourge of Greece, under the Mûsulman rule, the pestilence of the Klepts, been wholly banished from the country ; although, thanks to an improved system of police, and some vigorous measures adopted lately by the government, the evil has been materially diminished.

The researches of which I propose to give the Academy some account at present, commenced in Asia Minor, and embraced the following sites ; Ephesus, Gheyerah (the representative of Aphrodisias), Aïlah Shehir (the ancient Philadelphia) ; Sart, that is, Sardes ; Kîrkagatch, a Turkish town on the road from Thyatira to Pergamus, and which the inscriptions found there seem to prove to have been in some way connected with Stratonicea : Ak-Hissâr, which occupies part of the site of the ancient Thyatira ; Pergamus ; Eski-Stanpûl, the site of

Alexandria Troadis;* Beëram, the representative of Assos;† and one or two other places of minor importance, in the Troad, on the site of Roman military stations, where I collected a few Latin inscriptions.

This list, to which is to be added a small collection which I made at Smyrna, comprehends my labours in the department of inscriptions during two excursions which I made from that city; one around the churches of the Apocalypse; and another to the Dardanelles, returning by the coast to Smyrna.

Of these sites, Aphrodisias and Thyatira furnished me with by far the greatest number of inscriptions. Indeed, so numerous are the inscribed monuments in the first of these places, that the principal trouble devolving upon the traveller is a selection of the most important, or those which illustrate best the ancient records of the place. I find fifteen of these inscriptions in my notebook; but at least ten times that number solicit the attention of the antiquarian: and accordingly the curious in such matters will find, in the last published volume of Mr. Fellows' travels in those regions, a much larger collection of the inscriptions of Aphrodisias than I have made. It will be borne in mind, however, that that gentleman worked at a great *mechanical* advantage, for, avowedly unacquainted with Greek literature himself, he adopted the plan of what may be termed mechanical copying; in which way two or three sheets of the soft Turkish paper will perform in a few minutes as much work as would cost ordinary drudges, who have the misfortune to know something of the language, as many hours to get through. Any one, however, who has seen his first volume, will clearly appreciate the advantages of this method. Whenever an inscription is at all defaced, and the most valuable are generally not the least so, the thousand lines which the chisel of time has indented in it, are as faithfully represented in the mechanical counterpart, as those of the epigraph itself; a source of error most prolific, as well as vexatious, to the decipherer afterwards, when threading his way through the palæographical labyrinth.

The strangest readings have, in consequence, found their way into that part of Mr. Fellows' first volume which relates to inscriptions. His second, which has recently made its appearance, I have not had time to examine with the minuteness which it seems to deserve.

* Acts, xvi. 8, 11.

† Ibid. xx. 13, 14.

Rejecting, therefore, all such contrivances for facilitating or expediting labour, my uniform method was, to make myself acquainted, in each instance which presented itself, with the import of the words, when it was at all possible for me to do so. This, after some practice, was of great utility in enabling me to abridge the trouble of a repeated inspection, as established formulæ were of constant recurrence, and the known succession of words thus at once suggested itself to the mind. In cases, where the characters were so defaced or mutilated as to afford no clue, or next to none, to the sense, my practice was to read the several tituli *orthographically*, that is, to resolve them according to the known laws of termination of their components; I mean, according as they were nouns, verbs, or particles, thus to establish what may be termed resting-places for the eye, while the hand was occupied with the task of committing the record to paper.

This method, or rather what was consequent upon it, dexterity of transcription, effected often somewhat more than a mere abridgment of labour: for it is clear, that the same law of sequence which enabled me without actual inspection to anticipate sentences, supplied me also with the means of restoring them when broken off or effaced. I have thus been frequently guided to the general import, at least, of a document, the first appearance of which was most unpromising to the copyist.

An example, or two, may not be uninteresting.

There are few formulæ of more constant recurrence, particularly in the ancient sites of Asia Minor, than epigraphs on the coffers (*στοροὶ*) in which families of distinction laid their dead. By far the finest of these I met with was one in the upper quarter of Akhissár, the ancient Thyatira, it wanting only the operculum, but the body of the sarkophagos being in perfect preservation. The name of the individual who had caused it to be constructed is recited, the spot where he had it placed, the purposes which he had in view; and then follows a prohibition to all others meddling with, or in any way making use of, the soros, under a heavy penalty, which might appear to have been twofold; but this I shall explain more fully in its proper place.

The titulus concludes with stating, that the customary formality was observed, of a copy (*ἀντίγραφον*) being deposited in the office of the registries, (*τὸ ἀρχεῖον*), in this case, perhaps, the senate-house; with the name of the pro-consul for the

time being, the date of entry, and the name of the scribe (*δημόσιος*,) or registrar, by whom the document was entered.

The study of this most valuable monument enabled me to restore, in considerable part, three inscriptions to the same effect, which I found also at Akhissár, but in a different quarter of the town, namely, the Armenian cemetery. The extent to which they had been mutilated would otherwise have made it a hopeless task, as it is the custom of that people to re-work the ancient soroi for their own sepulchral purposes, and to provide room for emblematical devices, and epigraphæ in their own dialect, without much respect to the Græco-Roman monuments. Of this I observed more than one example at Akhissár: but the most remarkable instance I met with, was in a tomb at Kûtaïeh, the representative of the Cotyaion of Pliny.* The soros from which the Armenian selected his materials had belonged to a Greek family of the highest distinction, as is evident from the style of embellishment which it still exhibits. It is now covered with Armenian devices and characters, the former of which are easily distinguished from the reliefs of the more classical era.

The possession of this epigraph (to remark in passing), has enabled me to correct one of the oversights in Mr. Fellows' first volume, which was doubtless the result of his expeditious mode of transferring inscriptions abovementioned. This it has done by furnishing me with an important name, which had unquestionably been recited in that gentleman's inscription, but has been left out by him in his appended explanation as unintelligible. But this is not all. The consideration that this name was connected with Cotyaion restored another, and an important, reading in the same inscription, a geographical one, which had been totally disfigured by his mechanical process.

One of the inscriptions which I have brought home from Smyrna, supplies an excellent example of the mode of dealing with such as have reached us in so mutilated a state, as to preclude all hope of our arriving at a knowledge of their exact import. Such tituli as these are best studied *in situ*; and the resolution to which I have adverted above, should precede the process of copying, otherwise the chances are, that the most embarrassing mistakes will ensue.

The epigraph to which I now refer, was copied by me from an irregularly

* *Histor. Nat.* v. 41, 1.

fractured block of marble, which has been built into the east wall of the Venetian fort of San Pietro, and consists of ten lines, each numbering from seven to ten letters. It is plain, therefore, that but a meagre fragment of the entire monument remains, and, unfortunately, without any word of so precise an import as to throw light on its subject-matter or date. This is the more to be regretted, as there is something in the *air* of the inscription, which informs us that it was of a good era; and that the monument had been destined to perpetuate some remarkable event in the history of the town, perhaps the earlier, or that previous to the Roman dynasty. There is an allusion, in the first line, to an embassy, either to or from Greece; one, in the second and third, to the free constitution of Smyrna: another reference of the same import perhaps, in the fourth and fifth; in the remaining lines, more especially the ninth and tenth, the allusions are to its allies and confederates, but whether states or personages we have no means of determining. It may be, that the concluding expressions comprise both.

The learned Society which I address, will apply these hints to specific events in the Ionian history, in which the city of Smyrna was prominently engaged. We know, in general, that intercourse with Greece Proper was constantly maintained by the Asiatic confederation; in particular, that the games formed a most important centre of union.* Again, there was the treaty with Seleucus, which is not obscurely hinted at by the abbreviator of Trogus;† lastly, there was the league formed by the citizens of Lampsacum, Alexandria Troadis, and Smyrna, in favour of the Romans against Antiochus.‡

To which of these, if to any, the fragment under consideration refers, we have but scanty materials for determining. The terms in which it concludes, *TOYΣEYNOI AΣΣYNEP* that is, *cooperators in offices of goodwill, &c.*, should lead us to infer, that the states of the Ionian alliance, either in whole or in part, had been mentioned in the document: but unfortunately, not a trace of their names has been preserved. It occurred to me, when studying the inscription on the spot, that possibly it had formed part of a supplement to the provisions of the treaty with the citizens of Magnesia (*ad Sipylum*), in support of the interests of Callinicus, which has been brought over to England by the Earl of Arundel, and the student of such matters will find published at

* Pausan. v. 8, 2.

† Hist. xxvii. 2.

‡ Liv. Hist. xxxiii. 38; xxxv. 42.

length in Prideaux's volume.* The characters are certainly sufficiently antique to countenance this, or even the supposition of an earlier date : but beyond conjecture we have no data for proceeding.

Its allusions however, general as they are, cannot fail of inspiring much interest. In the hope of eliciting something more definite, I searched, in company with a gentleman of Smyrna, who most kindly attended me through the city, in every accessible quarter of the building, for the remainder of the monument, but without success. The rude hands of the semi-barbarous constructors of the fortress had, in all probability, consigned it to perpetual obscurity in laying the under-courses of the masonry. The portion which they had placed within sight, had been so chipped and otherwise defaced in the progress of the work, that it is probable, had the expeditious process of copying it been resorted to, the result would have exhibited an unintelligible mass of confusion.

There was some degree of inconvenience attendant on the study *in situ*, as the marble was at least five-and-twenty feet above the street-level, and I was obliged to employ a ladder placed against one of the buttresses, in order to obtain a sufficiently close inspection of its contents. This was in a densely inhabited quarter of the town, next the market-place ; and in a very short time I had more company with me than I could have desired. The generally received idea amongst the Turkish population is, that we explorers of ancient monuments can have no other object in encountering so much trouble for the sake of such obsolete reminiscences, than a vague notion that they point to some hidden treasure. Their cupidity is accordingly, still more than their curiosity, aroused ; and this has proved a fruitful source of the injury done by the Mahommedans to the finest treasures of the classical period :

“ Hoc fonte derivata clades
In veterum monumenta fluxit.”

My collection of inscriptions commenced, as I have said, at Ephesus. When I first reached Smyrna, having been limited by my diocesan, the Lord Primate, to an absence of but six months, it was my intention to visit the Apocalyptic sites alone, and that being effected, to return straight home. A period of sojourn

* Marmor. Oxon. p. 4, § 94, 95.

so brief, would evidently not have admitted my forming any collection worth mentioning of such treasures. I was soon, however, relieved from my fetters, by the extreme kindness of his Grace, who, in consideration of the object which I had in view, relaxed his parting injunction : for a letter that awaited my return from Pergamus, announced the gratifying intelligence, that my term of absence had been doubled ; a great boon to a traveller in those regions, in which twenty-five or thirty miles is the ordinary length of a day's journey, and no facilities exist for expediting his movements beyond that limit ; and, I must add also, eminently characteristic of the personage who conferred it.

I now proceed to enter somewhat more precisely into my details. I believe I have already mentioned, that the order which I mean to observe is that of my visits to the respective sites ; a choice more agreeable to my recollections, and as fit as any other, perhaps, for presenting my acquisitions to the Academy. I now speak with reference to the Apocalyptic cities, reserving to myself the liberty of deviating from this rule in the case of others of less moment. I mean, however, in all cases, to classify each separate series, so as to avoid the chaotic jumble which one meets almost invariably in travellers' collections, as also, where the state of the monument at all admits it, to give a general outline of its contents.

II. Ephesus, at which celebrated site I arrived on the eighth of September, 1840, and where I commenced my labours in this department of research, furnished me with three. I could have had more, but I made choice of those which I had some reason to suppose had been little known or noticed before. I copied them from a cubical block of marble which lay half concealed in the midst of some agnus castus on the left-hand side of the road that skirts the citadel (called by the Turks *Aiasalúk*), and conducts to the lower town, if it be not a misnomer to apply the term to that wretched vestibule to the splendid ruins which overspread the valley of Coressus.

Each of the three inscriptions to which I now refer is mutilated, the introductory matter, or, as they may be termed, the preambles, being in a great measure wanting. This defect has arisen from the block of marble, on three faces of which they had been engraved, having passed, most probably, through the hands of some mason ; I shall not say Turkish ; for I regret to be obliged to remark, that the degenerate representatives of the ancient possessors of the

country, are, for the most part, quite as ready as their masters, to appropriate to less worthy purposes the records of the civilization and the taste of their forefathers.

All these Ephesian inscriptions illustrate in the strongest manner the expressions of the sacred historian, *Τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οὔσαν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς ἀρτέμιδος*;* the first two having been framed with the avowed intention of enforcing and perpetuating the worship of the tutelary goddess of that celebrated emporium. Sufficient of the preliminary matter of the longest of these remains to inform us as to the grounds on which the ruling powers of Ephesus founded this and similar decrees; the document forming part of a Psephism which had been enacted by the senate and people. Its purport was to command the strict observance of the entire month Artemision, by a succession of festivals and assemblies, which are termed *ἐορταί, ἱερομηνίαι, πανηγύρεις*; the second being introduced, as appears evident, with a special reference to the Artemisiac solemnities which were ordained for a particular month. Thus the sacred month of the Nemean games, or rather the collective series of solemn observances which were enjoined as appropriate to that period, are termed by Pindar *ἱερομνία νεμεάς*.†

There are curious and interesting allusions in the preamble of this decree to the circumstances which we know from other sources to have existed amongst the Macedonians, the Egyptians, and the people of Laconia, namely, of their having had sacred months; the first and third, their Artemisius, for holding assemblies and celebrating feasts, called in this section of the Psephism *ἐπιμήνια*. I regret to observe, that the passage which completed the argument from example, by citing that of the Egyptians, has been exceedingly defaced; but sufficient has remained to enable me to determine with tolerable certainty, that this had not been forgotten, as, fortunately, the first syllable of the sacred month has escaped the ravages of the destroyer. Now, the names of the Egyptian months are perfectly well known, as are those also of the Macedonian, of which the learned Ideler has given a catalogue comparatively with the Athenian and the Syro-Macedonian.‡ In this, the Artemisius of the second of these peoples corresponds to the Munychion of the third, at least on Plutarch's authority; and

* Acts, xix. 35.

† Nem. iii. 4.

‡ Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, Th. i. ; p. 39 in Passow's Lexicon.

this again to the third of the Aratorial months, as represented in the sculptures which I saw in the Memnonium, and of which Sir Gardiner Wilkinson has given us an account in the first volume of the second series of his invaluable work.* Its name, both in his book and elsewhere,† is written *Phamenoth*. The query suggests itself, could this have been a contraction for Phtha-Amon-Thoth, a triad of Egyptian deities, and expressive of the conjunction of the intellectual with the generative and demiurgic powers? Two of the months of the season of the water-plants have been named after single divinities, Athyr and Thoth; why should not the same custom be observed in the case of a greater number, particularly as we know that it was usual for the Egyptians to form such groups? Thus, we have the triads of Thebes, Syene, Philæ, &c., the especial objects of adoration in those districts.‡

However this may be, it is certain that in the Ephesian inscription, the initial syllable of the desiderated month, which is expressly stated to correspond to the Macedonian Artemisius, is ΠΙΤΑ, and that the letters which are now effaced therefrom occupied a space about equal to its last two, supposing them to have been ΜΟΥΝΩΘ.

Here, however, a slight difficulty arises from the representative of Artemis in the Egyptian Pantheon having been Pasht, or as the Greeks expressed it, Bubastis. This may be met in two ways; firstly, by supposing that the framer of the decree merely intended to express the coincidence between the Artemisius of the Greeks and the Egyptian Phamenoth; for his words are, *And the most convincing proof of this religious veneration is, that the month denominated Pta (by all the Egyptians) has been called by the Macedonians and the rest, the Laconians, and the cities in their territory, Artemisius*. In the second place we may add the fact, that Pasht was a member of the great triad of Memphis, and the usual companion of Phtha, or Hephæstus, by whom she is stated in the hieroglyphic formulæ to be "the beloved."§ This makes it highly probable, that the great festival which Herodotus|| mentions as having been celebrated at Bubastis in honour of Pasht, took place in the month of which we have been treating; and if this supposition be correct, the author of the Psephism

* Vid. pp. 377, s.

† Vid. Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. iv. p. 231.

|| Ibid, ubi supr. p. 279. Herod. ii. 59, s.

† Rosin. Antiqq. Rom. p. 954.

§ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 280.

shewed great judgment in thus enforcing its provisions by an appeal to the religious usages of those who were the undoubted founders of the Greek mythological system.

I am now conducted to the second of these tituli, which is, as I have already observed, decapitated. Part, however, of the preamble remains, which was conceived in the same spirit with that of the foregoing. The observance of the Artemisiac festival is enforced by an appeal to the piety and the devotion of their predecessors; and then the decree concludes with consecrating certain days, doubtless, of the month Artemision, perhaps indeed the entire thereof, to the solemnities of that festival, during which Armistices (*ἐκεχειρίαι*) in particular were to be observed. We are further informed, that this was a decree of a grand convention, (*πανήγυρις*), the same which Thucydides terms a synodos,* and the whole concludes with the names of the Prostates, or president of the convention, and of the Agonothetes, or director of the games.† These are, Titus Aelius Marcianus Priscus, and Titus Aelius Priscus.

The next inscription, which also has been mutilated, comprises the latter half of a resolution or decree of a Panegyris in favour of some distinguished citizen, ordaining a statue (termed in the conclusion *τιμὴ*) to be erected in his honour. This is prefaced with an enumeration of his public services in the following instances; in matters which related to the panegyric assembly, and the solemnities of the sacred month; in the establishment of what is here termed the Artemisiac Judgment (*ἡ ἀρτεμισιακὴ κρίσις*), by which I understand either the games themselves, or the court for the regulation of their details, over which the Asiarch for the time being presided; in augmentation of the prizes of the Athletes; lastly, in the erection of statues in honour of the successful candidates.

The only name preserved in this titulus is that of the individual to whom the convention had confided the office of providing for the erection of the statue, viz., L. Fænius Faustus. It might indeed be supposed that this individual had undertaken the office, of himself, and at his private cost; but I choose rather to think that he was the agent of the Panegyris, notwithstanding the use of *ἀναστήσαντος*, not *ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, as in an inscription of a similar purport which I copied at Philadelphia.

* Hist. iii. 104, *μεγάλη ξύνοδος τῶν ἰώνων*.

† Hist. i. 127; ii. 179; vi. 127.

These Ephesian monuments cannot but be regarded as possessing much to interest us, from the notices which they contain of a prominent idolatry of the Panionian Confederacy. But interest of another order attaches to them also in the eyes of the Christian antiquarian, who will not fail to perceive in these strenuous efforts of individuals and bodies of men, marked indications of a decaying worship, and melancholy forebodings. The address of the silversmith of Ephesus* is familiar to all here, which presents so remarkable an instance of the admixture of low and sordid motives with the more elevated feelings of national vanity and pride : and doubtless, Demetrius was not only a skilful artist, but a sharp-sighted spectator of passing events. He well knew the versatile character of his fellow-citizens, and trembled for his craft ; with what justice, these documents of a somewhat later era sufficiently attest : for to what are we to attribute these efforts of the heathen priesthood to reconstruct, to invest with additional solemnity, to fortify with more stringent sanctions, the worship of their tutelary, but the astounding fact, that the temple of the great goddess was fast falling into contempt, and that the magnificence of her, *whom all Asia and the world had worshipped*, was about to be destroyed ? How truly the illiterate artisan predicted coming events ! What a contrast his misgivings present to the assumed tone of confidence with which one of the state documents described above concludes ; *inasmuch as this will conduce to the promotion of the honour of the goddess, which will continue more glorious and in higher repute, on those days, for all succeeding time !* The vaunted magnificence, and with it the decrees, of the proud Asiarchs of Ephesus, have crumbled, and are still crumbling, into dust, whilst the anticipations of her humble mechanic are inscribed in indelible characters on the ruins of her palaces and her shrines !

Between Ephesus and Laodicea, which was the next site that I wished particularly to visit, I took the road which included the towns of Aïdin, Nâzeleh, Yeni-shehir, Gheyerah, and Seraï-kui, which represent in their order the ancient names of Tralles, Nysa, † Antiocheia, Aphrodisias, Karoura. ‡ Of these, the

* Acts, xix. 24, ss.

† Viz. according to D'Anville. Vid. Ansart, Not. in Plin. v. 29, 6. This, however, is questioned.

‡ Vid. "Visit to the Seven Churches," &c., by the Rev. Fr. V. J. Arundell, p. 73, and accompanying Map. Strab. xii. c. 8, p. 75. Tauchn.

fourth, or Gheyerah, presents highly interesting remains of temples and other public buildings, whilst inscribed monuments lie scattered on all sides in such profusion, as to render a judicious selection of their contents the chief difficulty of the traveller. I remained there for three days, during which interval I copied a considerable number of inscriptions in different quarters of the ancient site. The labour and difficulty of this operation was much enhanced by the extreme heat of the season, and my disinclination to adopt any mechanical device for curtailing either.

It is not my intention, at least for the present, to submit to the Academy the result of my sojourn at Aphrodisias, but to connect it with another series, and make these the subject of a separate memoir. I mean now to treat of those inscriptions alone which I have brought from the Apocalyptic sites, and one or two other places which lay in my road. The Aphrodisian Tituli, I mean the whole number which I found existing, would be sufficient to form a large volume of themselves.

The site of Tralles supplied me with none. I made anxious inquiries respecting them of the person who accompanied me in my excursions through the Acropolis and other quarters of the ancient town, but received the discouraging answer that all such monuments had disappeared. This gentleman (who was the Pasha's physician) chose, for obvious reasons, to convey his sentiments on this subject to me in Latin. I have a vivid recollection of his concluding words, which were uttered with strong emotion: "*Lege Strabonem: ille omnia conspectui dabit: sed monumenta delevit barbara manus.*"

I pass over Eski-Hissâr, the representative of Laodicea, and Pambûk-Kalessi, that of Hierapolis, as barren in the immediate materials of my present research. Desolation more utter and more disheartening can scarcely be conceived than that of Laodicea; and the extraordinary vision which met my eyes at the second of those places, wholly engrossed my attention during the brief period of my stay. The remains of its baths, its temples, its amphitheatre, and more than all, the singular phenomena of its stalactitic concretions, render it one of the most interesting sites in the whole extent of Anatolia. But the feeling of utter loneliness and desolation is the same there as in the neighbouring locality of Laodicea. Not a habitation is to be seen, after the adventurous traveller has crossed the narrow ledge of rocks by which the ruins are approached from the plain of the Lycus.

The solitary Tûrkoman tending his charge, the jackal, and the viper, are now the only tenants of this once celebrated resort of the masters of the world and their Asiatic tributaries; for the saline baths of Hierapolis made it one of the most frequented watering-places in the Roman dominions.*

We shall now recross the Mæander, and penetrate the defiles of the Mesogis, on our way to Ailâh-shehir, *the fair city*, as it is called by the present possessors of the country, the representative of Philadelphia. It is usually set down in maps as Allah-shehr, that is, *the city of God*; a coincidence with its former ecclesiastical status, which, were it well-founded, would be remarkable, and which has been noticed:† but this is a mistake: the Turkish name of Philadelphia is but a variation of another which has been given by the present possessors of Asia Minor to other celebrated sites, distinguished, as the town of Attalus is, by the natural beauty of their position. I refer to the name *Ghiûzel-Hissâr*, or *beautiful castle*. Thus, they call Tralles, and with the greatest justice, *Aidin-Ghiûzel-Hissâr*; and Temnos, in the fine coast-country between the chain of the Sipylus, and the river Hermus, *Menamén-Ghiûzel-Hissâr*. Philadelphia, which lies in one of the most beautiful recesses of the Tmolus, over the rich plain of the Katakekaumene, amply merits its present name.

But I must not forget my more immediate concern at present, the inscriptions of the ancient town. In these Philadelphia is by no means rich. I could discover but four or five: one on a block of marble, which now serves the town porters as a support for their loads, but had once been part of the pedestal of a statue erected in honour of a personage of consular dignity; two entaphial, and a fourth, which I discovered on the outer angle of one of those massive supports

* Vid. Plin. v. 29, 3. Strab. xiii. 4, p. 157. Tauchn.

† See the Rev. Mr. Arundell's *Visit*, &c., p. 169. There is a strange confusion here. The author has written the name *Allah Sher*, and seems to think it capable of the double meaning: this is not the case: there are, in effect, three Turkish names, which closely approximate to each other in sound, but in meaning are quite different, which may be applied to Philadelphia, viz., *Allâh Shehir*, the city of God; *Ailâh Shehir*, the fair city; *Alla Shehir*, the red city. The second of these is the true Turkish name.

Were my classical associations to get the better of my veracity, the aspect of the Bûz-dagh (Tmolus) and of the bed of the Pactolus, would incline me to adopt the last of these. The stream still remains, at least in one sense, the Chrysorrhœos of the ancient naturalist.

that attest the former magnificence of the edifice to which they belonged, the church of St. John.

In the first of these, the name of the consular has been preserved, Flavius Archelaus Claudianus, as also that of the person to whom the erection of the statue had been confided, Glyko (or Glykis) Papias, whose rank as Bularch* is also mentioned.

The last cost me infinite pains to acquire, from its very elevated position, and the inconvenient manner in which the builder had placed the stone on which it had been engraved: I mean to explorers such as I am; for his own exigencies had compelled him to place the lines in a vertical position at the outer edge of the building. To add to my dissatisfaction, it turned out, after all the trouble I had taken to obtain possession of its contents, but a fragment, and that a meagre one, of the original composition. Sufficient, however, remained to direct my subsequent researches to its probable import. A name has been most fortunately preserved unutilated, which is familiar to every reader of Claudian; and from the pages of his vindictive satire on the discarded favourite of Arcadius, I have been enabled to fill up the imperfect outline which the quoin of St. John's has supplied.

The name here alluded to is Eutropius, one most convenient to the purpose of the author of this epigraph, which was to bequeath to posterity a marble-graven record *in verse*, of the *courage* and *generalship* of an officer whom that courtier had employed in an important military operation. It occurs twice in the course of the inscription, which was composed in lines alternately hexameter and pentameter. Of eleven of these but the initial fragments remain, presenting only the first, or (and this in two instances alone) the first and second feet.

The historical fact which I brought to bear upon this monument, with a view to its elucidation and, if possible, restoring it, was that which has been detailed so amusingly and with such power of ridicule by Claudian, in the second of his poems against Eutropius, namely, the ill-concerted expedition of his general, the woolcomber Leo, against Tribigild, or as he is called by Claudian, Targibilus, the Ostrogothic leader, who had invaded Asia Minor, and was then occupied in devastating Pamphylia, where he had taken up a disadvantageous

* I have fully explained the import of this term (*Βούλαρχος*) in the commentary subjoined to my series of inscriptions of the Apocalyptic sites.

position between the Melas and the Eurymedon. By this, however, Leo failed to profit, and the result of the conflict was as might have been anticipated: he was defeated by Tribigild, and his army slaughtered or dispersed.*

The feature of the struggle which has, in my opinion, been drawn by the author of the inscription, is that where Leo terminates his career in a morass into which he is pursued, and where the poet has represented him as expiring from the mere influence of terror. This closing scene of the drama is described as follows:†

“Ast alios vicina palus sine more ruentes
Excipit, et cumulis immanibus aggerat undas.
Ipse Leo dama cervoque fugacior ibat,
Sudanti tremebundus equo; qui pondere postquam
Decidit implicitus limo, cunctantia pronus
Per vada reptabat, cœno subnixa tenaci.
Mergitur, et pingui suspirat corpore moles,
More suis, dapibus quæ jam devota futuris
Turpe gemit, quoties Hosius mucrone corusco
Armatur, cingitque sinus;

* * * * *

Ecce levis frondes a tergo concutit aura;
Credit tela Leo: valuit pro vulnere terror,
Implevitque vicem jaculi, vitamque nocentem
Integer, et sola formidine saucius efflat.”

“The rest, in rude disorder hurrying, wild,
A marsh receives, full soon with corse pil'd.
Leo himself, more fleet than timid deer,
Flies on his panting steed, half dead with fear:
Anon his weight o'erpowers his courser's strength,
Who, 'tangled in the mud, with tottering length
Falls prone, and struggling in the slimy shoals
Wriggles in reptile effort, snorts and rolls,
Whilst the unwieldy bulk he bore, the pride
Of chieftains! wallows in the slimy tide,
Panting, expiring, as a well-gorg'd swine
Its guttural screams when Hosius means to dine.

* * * * *

* Vid. Suid. in λέων, ii. p. 428. Ed. Kust. Gibbon, *Hist.* c. xxxii. p. 181.

† Lib. in Eutrop. ii. 438, ss.

The light breeze stirs the foliage in the rear ;
The clash of weapons bursts on Leo's ear !
Affright performs the dreaded javelin's part,
And deals the blow which rives his dastard heart :
To vain affright he yields his parting breath,
Unconscious of a wound, and sinks in death !"

The author of the inscription has, as I conceive, availed himself of the incident of the discomfited army's betaking itself to the marsh, to represent its leader as desirous of visiting the water-nymphs of the district, whom he appears to have addressed in a mock style of supplication on behalf of this Ajax of the East.* Nor should I omit to observe, that a very unusual epithet occurs in the last verse but one, the nearest approximation I have found to which is the epithet of the hare, in a poem† of Nicander, *δερκευνής*, so beautifully descriptive of the particular habit it expresses.

Δερκεοκρήδεμνοι is that to which I now allude, and which I beg permission to translate, *ogling through your veils* ; for I regard it as applied to the nymphs, and as intended to express a not unusual attribute of the sex, in which the classical mythics have been pleased to rank these offsprings of their fancy. If this conjecture be well-founded, the restoration I have ventured to offer may, perhaps, not be regarded as very far from the sense of the original composition. But however this may be, there can be no question of the felicity of the epithet under consideration.

The inscribed monuments of Sardes, which was the next site I visited, are not more numerous than those of Philadelphia. I am confident, however, that excavations in the vicinity of that once splendid structure, usually called the temple of Cybele, but of which only two columns have been left standing, would bring to light much curious and interesting information ; I may add also, near the Gerusia,‡ or Old Man's Asylum, in the ancient city. I must, however, here remark, that I apply this name to the ruin to which I at present allude, rather in accordance with the presumptions of most of those who have preceded me in this route, than with my own belief. Mr. Arundell very naturally puts

* Vid. Gibbon, ubi supr. Claudian. in Eutrop. ii. 386. *Tunc Ajax erat Eutropii, &c.*

† Alexipharm. v. 67.

‡ Vitruv. de Architect. ii. 8, p. 64.

the question, after stating the measurement of the walls, and one of the rooms, "Might not this have been the Gymnasium?"*

It was in the neighbourhood of this ruin that I discovered the inscription which is numbered the eighth in my collection. The cubical block of marble on which it was engraved lay, with the inscribed face undermost, in the open ground to the east of this edifice, and had originally, I am persuaded, been set up within the precincts of the treasury of the ancient city. It is now, as I have said, prostrate, and is used by the Türkoman herdsmen and the villagers of Sart as a seat, in consequence of which it has been worn down to such a degree as almost to have ceased to attract the notice of the traveller. Mine it certainly would have escaped, had it not been pointed out to me by the sîrujî (or groom), who had the care of my horses, and attended me over the ground. I lost no time in making myself acquainted with its contents, but the labour of transferring them to my note-book was very considerable, and occupied nearly the whole of the time I could spare from visiting the other objects of interest in and around the site of Sardes.

The inscription numbered the ninth was copied by me from a Turkish grave which I observed when approaching the town. It was well chosen by the Mahomedan who had pressed it into this service, as the marble fragment on which it is inscribed, had itself once formed part of a soros, or sarcophagus; but the process which it has thus undergone has deprived it of its chief interest, the names and dates having been cut away to adapt it to the dimensions of the grave.

Such, however, is not the case with first-mentioned titulus, that near the Gerusia. Sufficient of this as yet remains to acquaint us with its general import. It supplies us in its names and historical references with data of no common interest to the classical antiquarian. It appears to have been a decree, or public act of the senate and people, directing a monument (*μνημείον*) to be raised in honour of one of the imperial benefactors of Sardes, with whom there is some reason to suppose a lady of Lampsacus, Publia, or Papia Patricia, to have been connected in his offices of kindness and liberality towards the distressed citizens. There is, as appears to me, distinct mention made of the names of Tiberius and Trajan: and, perhaps, in the portions which have been defaced or broken off, that of

* Visit, &c. p. 180.

Hadrian had also been introduced; for it is matter of history, that this great emperor had emulated his predecessors in the succour which he had afforded to the Sardians in their emergency. This monument, therefore, refers chiefly to a period, in which this metropolis had emerged from a dreadful national calamity, or rather a succession of calamities, in consequence of the earthquakes which so frequently devastated the volcanic region of the Katakekaumene. Those which had taken place during the reign of Tiberius are expressly recorded by Tacitus,* and Dio Cassius† refers to those which had occurred in Trajan's time, but in a general way, as the attention of that historian was more especially directed to Antiochia, where Trajan was sojourning during the season of the catastrophe. The generosity of his successor, on a similar occasion, procured him, by a decree of the Sardians, the title of Neocorus,‡ one of great honour, and much sought after during the dynasty of pagan Rome, as well by communities as by individuals. It may be translated, *Temple-warden*.

The conclusion which appears, from the indistinct notices at the close of this titulus, to be probable is, that the funds at the disposal of the priesthood had mainly contributed to the erection of this testimonial.

We are informed also in the fifth, and as appears to me, in the thirteenth line also, that Sardes enjoyed, like Pergamus and a few other cities of principal note, the title of *δὲς νεωκόρος*. This expressed a much higher grade of honour than the single Neocore,§ to which, even by itself, the generality of cities esteemed themselves fortunate in being admitted.

The characters are, it is true, considerably effaced in both the instances to which I refer, and I did not venture to supply the *Lacunæ* until after a most careful consideration of the text, which points at once to the readings which I have introduced.

The simple epithet, *νεωκόρος*, appears to have occurred towards the close, namely, in the twenty-third line. This, however, might have been *δὲς νεωκόρος* also, as a very considerable hiatus precedes the first syllable, which, together with the last, is the only remaining portion of the word.

There is a fragment preserved in the eighteenth line, belonging to a word

* Annal. ii. 47.

† Hist. Rom. lxviii. 24.

‡ Vid. Rees' Cyclopæd. Art. *Sardis*.

§ Vid. Vaillant. de Numism. Græc. Rom. pp. 266, ss.

which I have not met elsewhere, that is, *γαζεῖον*. The question is, what does this mean? We know what *γάζα* or *γάζη*, adopted from the Persian, was,* and that from it was derived the well-known *γαζοφυλάκιον*.† We have, likewise, the analogy of *ἀρχεῖον*, a registry office, *ταμεῖον* or *ταμιεῖον*, a treasury, formed from *ἀρχή* and *ταμίᾱς*, and the like. If then *γαζεῖον* be the legitimate restoration in this passage, the conclusion appears at least to be probable, that the public building in which this monument was directed to be set up, was none other than the celebrated treasury of Cræsus, and therefore (supposing it to have been found *in situ*), that the spot it occupies was within the precincts of that building. I mention this, because, as I have remarked already, it has been very generally supposed that the Gerusia is represented by a considerable pile, which arrests the traveller's attention somewhat further on towards the west, and in the direction of the Pactolus.

However this may be, the propriety of the use of the term *γαζεῖον* is quite a distinct question. *Ταμεῖον* is that which I have found elsewhere, as, for example, in the Thyatirene Tituli. But the Persian invasion, and subsequent dynasty, account so satisfactorily for the former, that we may well allow the Sardinian scribe the use of the term, without supposing him to have affected singularity.

I hasten, however, to conclude my remarks on this document, reserving more detailed ones for a fitter opportunity. The last I shall now offer is on the use of *ἀπορίαν*, of which almost the entire has been preserved in the eighth line, to which I may add that of *ἔνδειαν* (but of this I am not equally certain), in the seventeenth. These expressions illustrate very forcibly the picture which the Roman historian of those times draws, in his own brief yet graphic style, of the depth of misery into which the Sardians had been plunged by the catastrophe that had laid waste their devoted region.

The words of Tacitus are: "*Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiæ urbes collapsæ nocturno motu terræ: quo improvisior graviorque pestis fuit. Neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat, in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur: 'Sedissemus immensos montes: visa in arduo quæ plana fuerint: effusisse inter ruinam ignes,' memorant. Asperrima in Sardonios lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiæ traxit.*"‡

* Vid. Reland. Dissert. Misc. ii. p. 184.

† Comp. S. Mark. xii. 41: S. Luke, xxi. 1.

‡ Annal. ii. 47. Comp. Strab. xiii. 4, p. 154. Tauchn.

The historian then proceeds to an enumeration of the other cities which had shared in the general calamity, as also in the imperial bounty: all had their tributes remitted to them for the time, and deputies of senatorial rank appointed to visit them, and take such measures for their relief as the exigencies of their cases demanded. The Sardians, in particular, exclusively of a temporary remission of their taxes, had a large grant from the imperial treasury.

My present circumstances forbid more than brief allusions to authorities. I therefore conclude this part of my subject with referring my learned audience to Pliny,* Strabo,† the medals of Tiberius which were struck in commemoration of this event,‡ and the Marble of Pozzuolo,§ for illustration of the historical document here noticed.

My road to Ak-Hissár, the Turkish town which occupies the site of the ancient Thyatira, lay through the battle-field of Cyrus, the Lydian tumuli, the western side of the Gygæan lake, and the town of Mermera, or Marmora, which some travellers suppose to be the representative of Exusta.|| Whilst amongst those monuments of the Alyattic dynasty, the sepulchral mounds, I did not fail to visit in particular the largest, the tomb of Alyattes, of which Herodotus has left us an account.** The view which presented itself from the summit, of the lovely region beneath, of the long range of the Tmolus, the acropolis of Sardes, the lake of Koloë, and the plain of the Hermus studded with the monuments, in an endless profusion, of the remote age of the Mermnadæ, was one which will not soon be effaced from my memory.

Whilst on the summit of the Alyattic tumulus, I recalled to mind, in particular, that part of Herodotus' description, in which mention is made of the five *ὄψοι*, or *termini*, which he affirms to have been placed there, with epigraphs inscribed upon them,†† specifying the amount of labour which the classes who had been employed in the task of erecting it had severally contributed. My curiosity was accordingly much excited, when I beheld on a narrow platform on the top of the mausoleum, and imbedded in a cavity in the centre thereof, an

* Hist. Nat. ii. 86, 1.

† Vid. xiii. p. 154. Tauchn.

‡ Spanheim. de Usu et Pr. Num. Diss. ix.

§ Vid. Gronov. Dissert. viii. Ernesti, Not. in Tacit. ubi supra.

|| Vid. Smith, referred to in Mr. Arundell's work, p. 187.

** Vid. i. 98.

†† Herod. u. s. καὶ οἱ γράμματα ἐνικέλαπτο.

irregularly formed, oblong stone, to the best of my recollection, of granite, and on which I thought that I could trace certain marks, or indentations. These, however, may have been the effects of atmospheric influences: I could form no certain conclusion respecting them: still less am I enabled to assert with any degree of confidence that the rude block which I then saw before me had been also beheld by the Father of history: I wished, however, to believe the fact, and having travelled so far to test the accuracy of Herodotus, I found it no difficult matter to enlist my convictions under the banner of my imagination.

Thyatira, to which I am now conducted, furnished me with *nine* inscriptions, most of which were copied by me in a cemetery of the Armenians, lying a little off the road to the right, as the modern town is entered from the south-east. But by far the most perfect of the number is one which I had from a sarcophagus in the upper part of Ak-Hissár, where it lies in a field belonging to the Agha, who kindly granted me an escort thither, and his permission to examine the monument. Scarcely a letter of this has sustained any injury; and as the *soros* itself exists in all probability *in situ*, we may infer with some degree of confidence, that certain names which it supplies, designated of old the quarter in which it is now seen by the traveller.

I have already adverted to this *titulus*,* but in so general a way as to afford room for a more particular specification of its contents.

The erector of the *soros* was a person of the name of Fabius Zosimus. The spot which he selected was an unoccupied one before the city, contiguous to the Sambatheion, within the Peribolus, or precinct of the Chaldaron (perhaps Caldarium), and alongside of the public road.

These are local designations which it would, of course, be impossible for us, possessing as we do no notices whatever of the *astygraphy* of Thyatira, to explain satisfactorily. We know that *περίβολος* means what I have stated above, a precinct of any kind, whether wall, hedge, or rampart. We also know from Seneca,† Vitruvius,‡ and the younger Pliny,§ what the Romans termed *Caldarium*, or *Caldaria Cella*. The conclusion, therefore, to which we are conducted, is, that this opulent citizen of Thyatira had chosen a place of public resort wherein to erect this family monument; perhaps, from circumstances of owner-

* Vid. p. 118.

† De Architect. v. 10. p. 152.

† Epistol. lxxxvi. 9.

§ Epistol. v. 6. 26.

ship, or because he was prompted by his vanity* to a public display of so beautiful a monument as even the relic which I saw proves the tomb to have been when as yet uninjured by time or barbarism.

The inscription proceeds to inform us, that this soros was destined to his own use and to that of his *sweetest spouse* (γλυκντάτη αὐτοῦ γυναικί) Aurelia Pontiana, exclusively, no other individual being privileged to make use of it for the purpose of interment: that any infringement of this notice was to be attended with a forfeiture to the most illustrious city of the Thyatirenes, of one thousand five hundred denaria, and to the most sacred treasury (τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμείον) of two thousand five hundred:† in addition to which, the parties so offending were to incur the penalties of the law against breaking into tombs (τυμβωρυχία). It is then added: two fair copies of this inscription have been made, one of which has been entered (ἐτέθη) in the registry office (ἀρχεῖον). Done in the most illustrious city of the Thyatirenes, in the proconsulship of Catilius Severus, on the thirteenth of the month of Audnæus, in presence of Menophilus Julianus, Registrar.

The following observations are suggested by this extract: firstly, that there were two classes of penalties to which tomb-breakers (τυμβωρύχοι) were made liable, one affecting their property, the other their persons, or, it may be, their civil rights. We know that amongst the Romans there were express laws against the violation of the receptacles of the dead,‡ as also that this department of legislation was not neglected by the Greeks: for Cicero's words, when treating of Solon's enactments on this and other matters relative to the common weal, are, "*Pœnaque est, si quis bustum (nam id puto appellari τύμβον), aut monumentum, aut columnam violarit, dejecerit, fregerit.*"§

Secondly: that the framer of the inscription defines with great exactness the legal formalities which were observed, giving also names and dates.

Of these the proconsulship of Catilius Severus is the first. This name is

* The expressions of Rosinus prove that Zosimus shared this feeling in common with his countrymen: "*Communis Romanorum sepultura in viis publicis erat ut ex epitaphiis apparet, &c.*" Antiq. Rom. v. 39. fin.

† The value of the denarius was different at different times: but fixing it at a medium of eightpence halfpenny, these sums correspond respectively to £53 2s. 6d., and £88 10s. 10d. of our money.

‡ Vid. Rosin. Antiq. *ubi supr.*

§ De Legibus, ii. 26.

found in the Consular Fasti in conjunction with T. Aurelius Fulvus, during the reign of Hadrian, and in the year U. C. 873. He had been sent previously into Bithynia, and filled shortly after the important office of Proconsul in Syria.*

The next date is given according to the Macedonian reckoning, and corresponds, in our's, to the fifth of December, that is, supposing Ussher's computation to be correct, which agrees sufficiently well with Ideler's table referred to above,† if we take the list of congruous months in the Calendars of Macedon and Athens with which Plutarch supplies us : but here there exists some diversity of opinion, a discussion of which I postpone to a more suitable occasion ; contenting myself at present with stating the Athenian Poseideon, that is, half December, half January, to be the month I have selected as answering to Audynæus.

I have been induced by the value and fine state of preservation of this sepulchral inscription, to diverge somewhat from my regular course, as it is the sixth in the order of those from Thyatira. But it has saved me the trouble of commenting at any great length on most of the others, as of the nine which I have brought away from thence, perhaps *five*, certainly *four*, are entaphial records.

The following is a list of these, and a concise account of their contents.

a. A fragment of a Latin inscription, which I am inclined to think was the titulus of a statue erected by the citizens of Thyatira in honour of the proconsul Severus, the same who is mentioned in the foregoing. The high terms of eulogy in which the historian Dio‡ has written concerning this functionary, makes it at least probable, that his administration should have been distinguished with this mark of honour. I have accordingly ventured to restore it, and in conformity with the known rules of the Roman Sigla, on this hypothesis.

The marble on which it was engraved has been built into one of the walls of the old Greek church of St. Basil in Ak-Hissár, which is now used as a mosque. The entire thereof, with the exception of the part containing my inscription, has been covered in the Turkish fashion with a coarse plaster. I attempted to dislodge as much of this as might have enabled me at least to test the accuracy of my conjecture, but the fanaticism of the Imâm was aroused, and I judged it my most prudent course to forbear.

* Dio. Hist. Rom. lxi. 14.

† Vid. p. 123.

‡ Hist. Rom. *ubi supr.*

b. The next inscription was copied from a mortar, formerly part of an altar, lying in the court of the Agha's residence in a village* through which I passed on my road from Pergamus to Magnesia (*ad Sipylum*). I was informed that it had been brought by the servants of that magistrate, Kara-Osman-Oglû, from Ak-Hissâr, and I have therefore given it a place in the present series.

It records an honour which had been conferred by the senate and people (of Thyatira) on a distinguished matron, named Glykinna, in consideration of the public services of her husband, Publius Aelius Aelianus.

c. The third in order is also an honorary Titulus, commemorating the deserts of a victorious prize-man in the public games. It records the erection of a statue to his honour in a conspicuous position in Thyatira. The document having been mutilated in this part, I am unable to determine the name of the place with any degree of certainty; but I am disposed to think it was the Asium,† (*τὸ ἀσειῶν*), and very probably one of the gymnasia, of which there were several in the ancient town. Apollonius Justus (of the first of these I am certain, but not equally so of the last) was the name of this fortunate candidate for so envied a distinction. The inscription mentions him as having been a victor in the torch-race (*λαμπαδαρχήσαντα*), as having been crowned (*στεφανωθέντα*), and, in general, as having excelled all other competitors (*πρωτεύσαντα*).

d. The fourth inscription commemorates a similar testimony in favour of a successful athlete, Menander the son of Paullus, and on the part of the youths of the first Heracleian‡ gymnasia. This I copied from a beautifully sculptured marble slab in the Armenian cemetery mentioned above. It had once, perhaps, formed part of the pedestal of a statue, out of which it had been cut to adapt it to its present, or some other position.

e. The fifth cost me much trouble to decipher, nor am I yet assured of its real import. At first I regarded it as sepulchral. This opinion I have since abandoned for another, namely, that the marble fragment on which it appears,

* Yaïâ-keul.

† The reading *ἀσειῶν*, which I have conjectured in a note on this inscription, is not by any means so probable: nor is there any authority for the use of the word, as for *πρωτεύων* in Herodian. *Hist. Rom.* i. 12.

‡ Or, dedicated to *Hercules*. The words are, *οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλῆα τῶν πρώτων γυμνασίων νεανίσκοι* *ἐτίμησαν*.

formed originally part of an altar, which had been erected by a lady named Aurelia Matria, in commemoration of the issue of a suit (probably for disregarding her rights of sepulture), between her and a person of the name of Julius Atticus. If this conjecture be well-founded, it may follow that the altar in question was one of that class which the Romans styled *Aræ amicitiae*, for mention of which my audience is referred to Tacitus.*

f. The sixth is sepulchral, that of Fabius Zosimus, to which I have already adverted.† The *soros* in which it appears wants the *operculum*, or cover, but in all other respects is in complete preservation. It is of greyish coloured and very fine grained granite. The ornamental sculpture is of a very simple kind, and there are no figured devices; but the chiselling of the cornices is in the best style of art, and the characters of the inscription deep, sharp, and beautifully even.

g. The seventh inscription is also entaphial. This I found on a flat and highly-ornamented stone covering an Armenian grave, intermixed with the devices of that people, and epigraphs in their language. It formed three columns, each making a consecutive sense with that which went before, and separated from it by highly ornamented sculptures in low relief. The names of the erectors of the monuments have been abstracted by the process of adapting the slab to its present position, but in the second and concluding compartments; I have found means to restore the names, firstly of the proconsul,‡ during whose tenure of office the monument was erected; secondly, of the emperor§ who then reigned; and thirdly, of certain Romans of distinction who were, by the provisions of the inscription, either admitted to a right of sepulture in the *soros*, or who witnessed the execution of the instrument; or, lastly, who contributed to the decoration of the monument. These were of the family of the Annii, of which Tacitus and other writers|| make frequent mention.

The hand of time, and the liberties taken by the Armenian owners of this grave, have rendered any elucidation of this inscription almost a hopeless task. On certain points I am not as yet satisfied: but I hope much from the coope-

* Annal. iv. 74.

† Vid. pp. 118, 136.

‡ Lollius, or Julianus. I incline to the former, on the evidence of an inscription which I copied in the Troad.

§ Trajan.

|| Ex. g. Josephus, *Antiqq. Jud.* xviii. 2. 2. Compare Rosin. *Antiq. Elect.* p. 904.

ration of those who are best qualified to decide on the criticism of inscriptions, when my first part shall have made its appearance.

h. The next in order is also entaphial. A lady named Aurelia Tycha erected the soros for her own use, for that of her husband Aurelius (Rufus?) for that of their sons and daughters-in-law, and lastly, of the Olnetizi, a family of distinction, most probably, at the time of its erection, in Thyatira. At the close we again meet evidence of the Macedonian origin of that town in the date which is given, namely, the eighth of Dæsius, answering to the sixth before the Nones of May in the Roman reckoning, and to the second of that month in our calendar.

i. The ninth, and last of my Thyatirene tituli, also a sepulchral document, wants the name of the founder of the monument, but compensates for this by its mentioning at the close the existence in Thyatira of a public building for registries, called the Panionian Archium (τὸ ἀρχεῖον πανιώνιον), thus hinting some connexion with, or it may have been, a memorial of, the celebrated confederacy which bore that name. We observe in this also the name of Trajan as designative of the month which was called after that emperor, but in a part of the stone which had sustained so much injury as to be almost illegible.

It is proper, however, to apprise my audience, that my proofs for what has been here advanced, are by no means so satisfactory as to supersede other attempts to restore the true readings. I have accordingly, in my commentary on this part, proposed another series of these, and have accompanied it with a transcript of my original copy, to enable such inquirers as may feel an interest in the present subject to judge for themselves.

Of other remains of antiquity I could discover none whatever in Ak-Hissár, with the exception of capitals of columns, friezes with architectural sculpture, and pediments, the former of which have been employed for the most part in the construction of wells, which the traveller meets in every part of Asia Minor. Altar-pieces and capitals—the latter when of sufficiently massive proportions to admit of their being used for such purposes, are the materials one chiefly finds appropriated to these works of public utility; in one respect a fortunate application of those treasures of ancient art, and infinitely preferable to using them as street-pavement, or for the substructions of dwelling-houses. The most valuable inscriptions have thus been often preserved: but woe to the luckless monument

which has had the misfortune of being decorated with reliefs of the features of the illustrious dead, or of embodying an artist's ideas of a superhuman beauty! On such as these the Mûsulman Iconoclast has invariably been sure to wreak his fanatical wrath, and often the very circumstance of their attracting the admiration of the *dogs*, the polite appellation generally bestowed on Ghiours, or Infidels, by all true disciples of Islâm, has proved a powerful auxiliary of this principle. An anecdote which has been related by the accomplished Cockerell, places this in a strong light.

It is thus that the work of demolition is, I fear, in rapid progress amongst the beautiful ruins of the temple of Aphrodite, in the vicinity of which the mud huts of the villagers of Gheyerah have been clustered, with large contributions from the sculptured relics of the ancient Aphrodisias.

My road to Pergamus lay to the north-west, through Bakîr, Kîrkagatch, and Soma, leaving Bûlléneh (the representative, as I think, of the Apollonia mentioned by Strabo*) to the left, in a direction south by west. I crossed the Ghediz (the ancient Hermus), at a point a little less than half way between Ak-Hissâr and the first of these towns. The second, Kîrkagatch, was my resting place for two days; and here I found some memorials of the Carian city Stratoniceia, which have led me to believe that the Turkish town has been in some way or another connected with the Macedonian colony, most probably through immigration of Greck families.

The memorials to which I here refer, are two of three inscriptions which I copied at Kîrkagatch.

a. The first commemorates the deserts of a citizen named Diodorus Philometor, son of Nicander, who had entitled himself to the honour thus conferred upon him by his patriotism and private benevolence. It was a public act or decree of the senate and people of the Hadrianopolitan Stratoniceans on behalf of this eminent person, who is mentioned as having discharged every magisterial office (*πάσαν ἀρχήν*), as well as public service (*λειτουργίαν*), on the distinction between which it is unnecessary for me to dwell, in the hearing of those whose classical remembrances will immediately suggest to them the offices of the Archon and the Trierarch amongst the ancient Athenians.

* Προϊόντι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ τῆς πόλεως (Pergamus) ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἑὸν μέρος, πόλις ἐστὶν ἀπολλωνία. Strab. xiii. 4, p. 150. Tauchn.

I found this inscription in the court of a private dwelling, belonging to a Greek family, in the higher quarter of the town. It was engraved on the upper part of a small column of *verde antico*, which served, as I conceive, to support a statue of the distinguished Stratonicean whose memory has thus been preserved.

b. The next inscription was found by me in the garden of the schoolmaster (*διδάσκαλος*) of the Greek church, supporting a Maltese flower-stand. From its supplying no information with respect to the site from which it had been brought to its present position, I am not as confident of its being a relic of Stratonicea, as of the one just mentioned. Some may suppose it to have been from Athens; but then the difficulty of transport from a place beyond sea is to be taken into account; yet, on the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that immigration into Asia Minor from the part of Greece over which King Otho bears sway, has been going on to a considerable extent since the accession of that prince, whose policy has been, to say the least, very generally distasteful to the proud and versatile people over whose regeneration he has been called upon to preside. This I can vouch for from experience, having frequently, during my sojourn in his majesty's dominions, involved myself in rather unpleasant altercations with my travelling companions, whilst reading them for their good, lessons of loyalty and subordination. Changes have, however, taken place since that time; amongst these the accession of Prince Mavrocordato to the councils of the Greek government, which may check this spirit of discontent, and operate beneficially for the future.

But to leave political matters to take care of themselves, and to return to my subject. The inscription at present under consideration was in honour of the emperor Hadrian, whose titles are enumerated, namely, Cæsar, August, Pan-Hellenian, and, I believe (but here the marble has been broken), Archon. The last two are specially illustrative of this great emperor's history, to whom, for his munificence towards them, the Greeks dedicated their Pan-Hellenium, and the Athenians, in particular, paid the compliment of an investiture with their chief magistracy.* I find moreover, amongst the inscriptions which Mr. Fellows has brought from Azani, one styling Hadrian *the god* and *Pan-Hellenian*.†

* Vid. Casaub. ad Spartian. *Hadrian*. p. 7, 4. Salmas. in Spartian. p. 34, e.

† Travels in Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 144.

It was this occurrence of a part of the word *ἀρχοντα* in the monument now under consideration, which induced me to suppose it of Athenian origin. But as the title in question was one of which Hadrian was deservedly proud, as it was a purely honorary distinction, there may hardly seem to exist sufficient reason for considering it as designative of place, at least in any such sense as to fix that of the monument. It is quite as reasonable to suppose, that the gratitude of the people of Stratoniceia, whose city had received substantial benefits from Hadrian, and had been dignified with his name, would lead them to select whatever title they judged would be most agreeable to that emperor's vanity.*

The erector of this statue (for the marble I saw is a fragment of what had once been a pedestal), was Julia Menylleina; and her special motive has been duly recorded, namely, to express her gratitude to Hadrian for his private acts of liberality towards her father, Julius Paternulus. The inscription concludes thus: ΓΑΙΟΥΙΟΥΑΙΟΥΠΑΤΕΡΚΛΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΙΔΙΟΥΑ ΙΔΙΟΝ† ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ.

I should have remarked, in connexion with this subject, viz., the intercourse in kind offices which subsisted between Hadrian and the citizens of Stratoniceia, the designation of the latter in the first of these two inscriptions: they are styled *Hadrianopolitan Stratoniceans*. Their city was one of the considerable number which, as having experienced their master's bounty, he had decreed should perpetuate the memorial thereof in their names. Thus, to cite another instance, Athens, at least that section which included within its precincts his gigantic structure, the Olympium. But in these, as in other instances, first associations overruled emotions of a more recent date, and their inhabitants soon recalled the ancient designations. In the case before us we observe a sort of transition state; a species of compromise effected between the old and the new. The additional title may have been imposed also for the sake of distinction.‡

c. Having travelled so far out of my course—for these inscriptions interfere with the regular series of the other from the Apocalyptic sites—I may as well conclude my notice of them with one which I had from the mosque *Yeni-Oglú*, formerly a Greek church. It is evidently of the Byzantine era; and appears,

* Anc. Univ. History, ii. 6, p. 503.

† Or ΙΔΙΟΝ.

‡ I have enumerated in my Commentary ten cities which bore the name of Hadrianopolis.

from all that I have been able to decipher of it, to commemorate the erection of a church by a pious Greek, named Evander, whose virtues, as well as the character of his spouse, Aurelia Echneëa, are eulogized in language made up of extracts from the Iliad and Odyssey.

Whilst at Soma, on my road from Kîrkagatch to Pergamus, I met with a few inscriptions, but of such little importance as by no means to repay the trouble of committing them to my note-book. Some of these may be found in the first of Mr. Fellows' volumes of his recent travels in Asia Minor. I may say, indeed, that for this time at least my search after these remains had been arrested, as during my stay at Kîrkagatch I had been incapacitated for carrying my first design into execution, which was to include the Troad in my tour, by one of those mishaps which are ever likely to betide a traveller amongst the Greek population whether of Asia Minor or Greece Proper. In short, I was deprived of the means of doing so by the dishonesty of the persons with whom I lodged; to make the matter worse, Zantiote Greeks, and, therefore, in some sort fellow-subjects, and residing within the district of the Mûtsellim of Pergamus, under a protection from the British Consul at Smyrna. I was accordingly forced to retrace my steps to the latter place as speedily as I could, to replace the funds of which I had been deprived.

This little disagreeable remembrance I may be pardoned for noticing for the sake of my motive in doing so, which is, to beseech those of my auditory, if such there be, who may entertain a design of penetrating into these regions, to take warning by my example, to confide less than I did in the integrity of their hosts, and keep constantly before their eyes the *Græculus esuriens*, and the *Græcia mendax* of the satirist of Aquinum.

I was not, however, prevented from visiting Pergamus, and thus completing my tour of the Apocalyptic sites. I then returned to Smyrna by the coast-road, leaving Magnesia (*ad Sipylum*) to the left. But a second excursion which I made from thence, namely, to the Dardanelles, and round by Bûnâr-Bashî (usually regarded as the site of Ilium), and the Idæan region, to Pergamus, enabled me to fill up this blank. During the interval of which I speak, I visited also Alexandria (of the Troad), Assos, some Roman military stations, Lectos (the extreme point, to the south, of the *Priameïa regna*), Aïvalî (a town of recent date, and a conspicuous scene of action in the Greek revolution), Temnos

(at least what has generally been supposed to be its site*), Magnesia (the Sipy-leian), and added very considerably to my stock of inscriptions. Those of Pergamus which I now have the honour of submitting to the notice of the Academy, were, in a great measure, the fruits of this excursion. I propose, with the permission of the Council, to reserve for some future meeting, an account of my researches during this period amongst the other sites I have mentioned. Of this number, Yaikli, a village on the road from Búnár-Bashî to Eski-Stanpûl, where evident indications of Roman colonization meet the traveller's view on all sides, Eski-Stanpûl itself, the representative of Troas, and Beëram, that of Assos, furnished the greater part.

a. The Pergamene inscriptions are seven in number ; four of the antebyzantine age ; two of that period ; and one of comparatively very recent date, in the modern language and style of writing. I copied it from the upper part of the architrave of the church of St. Theodore solely as a matter of curiosity, and submit a fac-simile which, I may observe, it was exceedingly difficult to take, from the intricacy of the character and the abbreviations employed by the engraver. The date of this is 1653, A. C. Those of the inscriptions of the Byzantine period are, respectively, 1433 and 1461.

b. One of these, the latest, was a testimony of affection on the part of a lady named Aelia Noma, towards a person of the other sex, of the name of Aelius Isidotus, but whether her husband, or in what degree related, is not mentioned. The just tribute to the virtues of his private character is not forgotten : and here, we may remark in passing, the peculiar and vitiated taste of the age is manifest. From the commencement of one of his names, Isidotus, and the terminating syllables of his professional title, Geometres, a sort of medley is formed to express his moral accomplishments, as will be evident to any one who compares the fourth with the two preceding lines.

c. Indeed, something analogous to the same taste may be observed in the other nearly coeval inscription which accompanies it. The subject of the eulogium in this case was Nicodemus, an architect, who had at his private cost repaired and embellished a public thoroughfare in Pergamus, called the Aediles' walk, or mall (*ἀγορανόμιος περίπατος*). The hint afforded by the name of

* Compare Plin. v. 31, 8. Arundell's *Visit*, &c. p. 297.

this public-spirited individual was too obvious and too tempting a one not to be fine-drawn, and accordingly we find subjoined to it the words *ἀμα δὲ ὁ καὶ νικῶνεις*, thus making the following sentence, *To the divine and ever-sacred artists, the architect (Julius ?) Nicodemus (that is, people-vanquisher), and who has at the same time approved himself Niconeus (that is, youth-vanquisher), &c.*, an attempt at paronomasia whereby I conceive were intended to be expressed his admirable fortitude and strength of mind in contributing of his substance to promote the comfort and ensure the safety of his fellow-citizens of Pergamus.

It will be perceived, that the writer of this encomiastic sketch was also a poet, on a small scale, as he terminates it with a catalectic tetrameter of the trochaic metre: but in judging of its merits we must exercise a little charity, and suppose that the gross blunder in the sixth foot is due to the oversight of the sculptor.

One additional observation, and I shall dismiss these inscriptions. It will be noticed, that series of the same letters range in one, with the first, fourth, and last lines; * in the other, with all. † What these mean, is the question. In the grave-yard of the church of St. Theodore, already mentioned, I observed similar series in all the epitaphs. I conceive them to be numerals. In the inscription of Isidotus, I think it is clear that they point at once to the year of our era; but in that of Nicodemus, the case appears to be otherwise, as the letters, supposing them to be numeral marks, correspond to 2000, 100, 80, 6. I conclude, therefore, that the reckoning in this last is the old Roman one, *ab urbe condita*, as in the Consular Fasti: and this agrees extremely well with the internal evidence which is supplied by the similarity of their style, this showing that their dates cannot have been very far asunder. I have, therefore, referred them, in my Commentary, to the years 1433 and 1461 after our Lord. ‡

d. I now proceed to the earlier tituli, the first two of which concern the Emperor Hadrian. I have placed the more perfect one, though later in its date, the first, on account of its state of preservation. It was copied by me from a large cubical block of the finest Parian marble, which I found in the possession of a Greek resident in the upper quarter of the town, and which originally supported

* Viz. ΑΥΞΑ.

† Viz. ΒΡΗΣ.

‡ I have referred inscription *b* to the Byzantine period, notwithstanding its dating eight years subsequent to the fall of the empire, as so brief an interval was not sufficient to produce any perceptible change in the style of these documents.

a statue of *the lord of the earth and sea*, as Hadrian is styled in this fine monument. If the execution of the sculptor was at all in proportion to that of the engraver, the whole work must have been in the highest degree splendid. The inscription is in every respect perfect, unless a critical eye would object to the diminutive size of the O, both long and short, which was, perhaps, intentional on the part of the lapicide, and designed to produce a better effect in the ranging of the lines. Perhaps he was apprehensive of not having sufficient space in some of the lines, which certainly approached very closely to the edge of the stone, even with the precaution he used, were he to engrave the full letters. It may be, that a little negligence contributed its share to this curtailment of the fair proportions of the letters in question: it certainly somewhat offends the eye.

This titulus informs us, that the *honour*, that is, the erection of the statue, was confided by the senate and people of the twice Neocore (*δὲς νεωκόρων*) Pergamenians to the prætors (*στρατηγοῖς*) of the time being, whose names are recited; and this is preceded by a very full list of the titles of the imperial object of their gratitude, who is styled August, Chief Pontiff, seven times of Tribunicial Authority, four times of Consular, the Lord of the Earth and Sea. His adoption also by Trajan, on which Dio Cassius* has thrown so much doubt, is implied in his being intituled the grandson of Nerva.

It is well known, that the learned Dodwell has introduced into his historical Prelections† an elaborate refutation of Dio's statements on this point: as also, that more recently, the eloquent author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has attempted a solution of the problem, by supposing that Trajan had, in a season of imbecility and irresolution, yielded to the entreaties of Plotina, and by a formal act of sonship, nominated her favourite his heir.‡ This is, in effect, deciding the question against Dio, with whom it is abundantly evident, notwithstanding the sentence of encomium of her he had before penned,§ that Plotina was no especial favourite: for to her efforts on behalf of Hadrian he applies the highly equivocal expressions *ἐρωτικὴ φιλία*. Yet the Greek historian speaks in the most positive tone, stating, moreover, that he had his information from his father, a grave authority unquestionably, but yet not inaccessible, constituted as the imperial court was, to the influence of less worthy motives.

* Hist. Rom. lxi. 1.

† Prælect. xvi. pp. 506, ss.

‡ Vid. Gibbon, ch. iii. p. 89.

§ Dio. u. s. lxviii. 5.

Now, it is certain, that the document of which I have just now given an account, proves nothing: it informing us only of an act of the Pergamene authorities, at a period when there existed every possible inducement to pay court to Hadrian, without the slightest risk attending the flattery. But with what an argument would Dodwell have been furnished, as well as Gibbon, who inclines to his opinion, had he been in possession of a document of import almost precisely similar to the one I have described, a public act of the authorities of Pergamus, passed during the life-time of Trajan, and conferring an honour on Hadrian: an act wherein he is styled the son of that emperor, virtually, under the title of the grandson of Nerva?

e. Such an act is the inscription to which I now beg to direct the attention of my audience, or rather somewhat more; for I have abundant reason to believe that, independently of being styled the grandson of Nerva, Hadrian is described in the very commencement as Publius Aelius Trajanus Hadrianus.

I found the marble on which it was engraved in the court of an obscure dwelling belonging to a Greek of Pergamus, set into one of the side-walls, and half-buried in the pavement of the yard. I was obliged, therefore, in order to copy it more perfectly, to employ persons to displace the stones. It was considerably defaced, as may be observed by the frequency of the dotted lines in my copy, which mark the passages where time and accident have impaired the distinctness of the characters: but of the substantial accuracy of the translation which I now offer, I am of opinion that no reasonable doubt can be entertained. It is as follows:

Publius Aelius Trajanus Hadrianus, Pro-consul of Pergamus, and Pro-prætor to the Emperor Nerva Trajanus, Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, of Syrophaenicia, Commagene; Grandson of the August Nerva; Curio of Nerva; late Demarch of the Antiocheans in the territory of the Chrysorrhœatæ; the Senate and People of the Pergamenes (have honoured) through Apollonius Dionysius and Malchio, and Cephalo Artemidorus, and Dionysius Demetrius, son of Amyntas

Such is the document: the questions which involve critical inquiry, it would not be expedient under present circumstances to enter into, or discuss, with any degree of minuteness: this I have reserved for a more suitable occa-

sion : I content myself at present with giving the result, and conclude with expressing it as my firm belief, that this titulus goes far to establish Dodwell's opinion, and Hadrian's succession to the imperial purple *jure hæreditario*. It implies the fact, that there had been some public and recognized expression, at the least, of Trajan's intention ; one of superior stringency to a mere *sponsio adoptionis* which Dodwell supposes, and sufficient to authorize both the citizens of Pergamus to bestow, and Hadrian to accept, the highest title which could be conferred on a subject of the empire.

f. The inscription which I have placed next in order, was copied by me from a cippus in the finest state of preservation in one of the by-streets of the town. This also I was obliged to get cleared of the rubbish which had accumulated around it, so as almost entirely to conceal it from view. The inscribed face lay undermost, and it was with much difficulty that I succeeded in my object of acquainting myself with its contents, in consequence of the uneasy position I was forced to assume.

This monument decorated at one time the tomb of a citizen of considerable rank, M. Julius Major Maximianus, Quæstor, Proprætor, and Aedile (*ἀγορανόμος*) of the Romans, and is a curiosity in its way, from its being accompanied with a brief description of the personal appearance of the deceased functionary, namely, that he was well-favoured and of a ruddy complexion (*εὐσχήμων καὶ πυρρός.*)

g. The last of the series at present under review was copied by me from a marble near the ruins of the church of St. John. This also had been sepulchral ; but farther than its general import, it conveys no information whatever, from its having been so completely mutilated. I copied it, however, as a memorial of the Acropolis, from a most fatiguing excursion through the remains of which I had just then descended : it had been brought down to its present position by a Turkish mason, and built into the upper course of his garden wall. It was, moreover, the only monument which I found in the city of Attalus, in the language of his self-constituted heirs.

I regret to mention, that Magnesia (*ad Sipyllum*), in which I remained for two days, furnished me with no documents of this kind. Not but that I am convinced it contains some, but because the general alarm which seemed to have pervaded at that time the Greek population, rendered all my inquiries fruitless. On one occasion, indeed, I was conducted by a Greek to a fountain, on the

upper part of which the word *κατασκευάσας* gave some promise of a reward to my perseverance; but no sooner did I stop to copy it and examine the ground adjacent in the hope of making a fresh discovery, than my guide made so precipitate a retreat, as in a few moments to be out of sight.

Thus began, and thus ended my search after tituli in the city of Antiochus: but in other respects I was amply rewarded for my visit to it, for the Sipyline Magnesia is, beyond all comparison, the most beautiful city I beheld in Asia Minor.

As I am not now writing a detail of my travels, I shall conduct my audience, by a far speedier and less rugged path than I was forced to traverse, over the heights and through the defiles of the giant Sipylus to the lovely Smyrna, the place of my first sojourning and of my last, in those regions of the myrtle and the zephyr. In Smyrna it was that I enjoyed the solace of refined society and Christian fellowship after many an arduous wandering beyond the pale of European civilization.

Of its ancient splendor Smyrna possesses now but scanty remains: of the monuments, which I am at present discussing, still fewer. A fragment of a decree or treaty, for it is impossible to decide which; a custom-house regulation, a votive thanksgiving, an epitaph, the name of the dedicator or of the architect of a temple, with about a half dozen other tituli, and some of these of the age of the lower empire, are all that I have been hitherto enabled to procure.

a. I have already ventured a few observations on the first of these,* since I penned which I have come to the conclusion, that it related to certain negotiations between the Romans and the cities of the Ionian Confederacy which are detailed by Polybius and Livy. Yet as I have mentioned before, the evidence for this is extremely vague and uncertain, from the meagreness of the document.

b. The next in order is a titulus which related to the department of the customs of ancient Smyrna, and by the position of the marble from which I copied it, I think myself justified in fixing the locality of the Telonium of the port. It is now in the garden of an Armenian merchant, about five hundred yards eastward from the sea shore.

* Vid. page 119.

Smyrna is styled, in the commencement of this inscription, *The Neocore city of the Smyrnæans*, ἡ νεωκόρος σμυρναίων πόλις. This serves to fix the limits of the date of the monument, namely, that it was subsequent to the reign of Tiberius, in whose time the city became a Neocore, and prior to that of Hadrian, when it was admitted a second time to the honour, and was accordingly intitled *twice Neocore* (δὶς νεωκόρος.)

Caracalla conferred subsequently a third Neocoria on this favoured town, as he did also on Ephesus.*

c. The third of my Smyrnæan tituli was copied from a column in the mosque at Bûrnabât, a country retreat of the Frank merchants to the north-east of the city, and is said to have been brought from the ancient temple of Æsculapius. It was the votive offering of a convalescent, whose recovery is attributed to the favour of the deity Meles. The word with which it commences, ὕμνῳ, implies evidently, that it was intended as a metrical composition; and in effect, by merely retrenching the last word (ποταμὸν) of the second line, which was, in all probability, the gratuitous addition of an ignorant engraver, it forms two trimeter iambic lines. Superadded to this blunder, if I may be allowed to call it such, a second has been committed by my predecessors in this department; amongst the number, by Mr. Arundell.† These gentlemen never seemed to have imagined that the inscription was metrical; much less was the true metre ascertained. The consequence has been, that the learned public have been favoured with an inscription, evidently in trimeters, with a spondee in the second seat of one of the lines.

The following is a translation of this titulus :

“ I hymn the god,
(The river) Meles,
My preserver;
Now that from pestilence of all kinds,
and distemper,
I have been set free.”

* See Vaillant. *Numism. Imper. Græc.-Rom.* pp. 266. ss.

† Travels, &c. in Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 406.

It was clearly a thanksgiving, after the cessation of some epidemic sickness, from which the writer had been preserved, or if affected, had recovered.

I had contented myself at first with the transcription which I had made from Mr. Arundell's volume. But I could not resist the curiosity which I experienced, in consequence of the occurrence of the false quantity in the second line, to test that gentleman's accuracy by an appeal to the original monument. It turned out precisely as I had anticipated: the inaccuracy rests with the traveller. He is, however, perfectly correct in his disposition of the lines, which to the unpractised eye of the mere metrist appears quite extraordinary, the following incongruous assemblage having been formed: a monometer iambic, a hypercatalectic of the same, a species of hypercatalectic trochaic, but with a spondee in the first seat, another iambic redundant by one syllable; next follows a cretic, and, last of all, a pure iambic monometer.

Horace says very truly, that in poetical compositions of a certain class, however you may break up their metrical arrangement,

“*Invenias etiam disjecti membra poetæ.*”

With regard to the poetical merits of the verses under consideration, I venture not to offer an opinion, but unquestionably the resolution has been very complete, although not very happy in its sequence of metres.

The question naturally suggests itself, to whom are we to ascribe it? To which I return for answer, doubtless to the lapicide, who had been employed by this grateful votary of the health-restoring stream. I have been often quite astonished at the unconcern which the ancient Greeks seemed to have felt about the style in which their epigraphs were engraved. They seem to have left almost every thing to their workmen; and hence the capricious assemblages of characters which occur in some, and the violations of the rules of the language which we observe in others. Yet, on the whole, the persons of this class appear to have been of a very superior order (I express myself, of course, comparatively), and by no means unfit to be entrusted with the records which were, from time to time, entrusted to their care.

One word more, suggested by the votive inscription which I have just now noticed, and I shall dismiss it. The question has frequently been asked me, are

the inscriptions which you have collected original? Have they never been seen, or copied, by any one else? And the answer which I have uniformly returned has been, that the circumstance of their having been so is perfectly unimportant to me: this, for two reasons, which will, I trust, be deemed as satisfactory by my learned auditory, as they are by myself. The first is, that I have reported no documents of this kind which have not been copied either by myself, or under my immediate superintendence, from the original monuments; and the second, that I have as yet seen but few, extremely few indeed, into the copies of which errors have not found their way, whether from haste, or inattention, or the absence of requisite accomplishments on the part of travellers. These oversights are, as is manifest, best and most satisfactorily eliminated by a careful collation with the monuments themselves, just in the same way as the mistakes of editors would be remedied by authors' manuscripts, and many an ingenious reading, many a conjectural emendation, over which vanity stands elated, prove but an impotent conclusion. This I state, at the same time that I believe I can with perfect confidence assure the Academy, that many of the inscriptions which I hope to have the honour to submit to its notice, have never before been seen, or at least considered by others, so as to have become the property of the public.

The greater number of the foregoing tituli is entitled to this distinction, as also the remaining ones of the Smyrnæan series, which will be found arranged from *f* to *k* in the copy, now before the President.

All these, with the exception of two of the Byzantine age, are mere fragments, from the existing contents of which it is impossible to pronounce any thing with certainty.

f. The first was copied from a piece of marble which has been built into the wall of the Turkish barracks, adjacent to the Jewish cemetery, at the foot of Mount Pagus. It contains the first and the last three letters of the Emperor Trajan's name, and vestiges of the words *ἀγῶνες* and *ἀγωνοθέτων*. We may conclude, therefore, that the subject of it bore some reference to games instituted in honour of that benefactor of his Asiatic provinces.

g. The next was taken from a piece of mosaic pavement which had been discovered at Chalka-bûnâr, the name given by the Turks to that extent of low and swampy ground where the temple of Æsculapius formerly stood. It is also

known by the name of Diana's Baths. The copy which I have given is a transcript of one I had from a gentleman resident in Smyrna, who accompanied it, at the same time, with a facsimile of part of the mosaic which had come into his possession. This I have subjoined.

The first part of this inscription was in so worn and illegible a state as to preclude the possibility of extracting from it any consistent sense. The latter half is, however, easily deciphered, with a few slight alterations. We read thus: ΓΑΝΥΜΗΔΟΥΣΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΟΥΠΑΚΙΑΛΗΣΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΣ: from which the inference is obvious, that the titulus was either commemorative of the virtues of that officer, or that it had been inlaid at his expense for some other purpose; very probably to hand down to posterity a memorial *of the most illustrious Pakiale*, his mistress.

h. The third of this series, which was copied from a marble in the wall of a khan, or Turkish inn, opposite to the Armenian church, was evidently sepulchral; but the fragment which remains of it contains no name to assist our researches.

i. The next is, as I have stated, an inscription of the Byzantine age, and was found engraved on a marble slab in one of those Greek churches which the Turks have converted into mosques, at some distance from Smyrna. It was a monumental tribute to the memory of an archbishop named Ætherichus, and commences accordingly with the *stavros*.

k. The last of this series was copied from a cistern which has been imbedded in the wall of the same khan where the last but one was found. I present it as a curiosity, from its strange admixture of characters, without indulging in any vague conjectures as to their precise import.

The entaphial inscriptions from Kûtaïeh, which have been subjoined to the present fasciculus, may, I believe, with some degree of certainty, be reckoned amongst the inedited ones which I have collected. They were copied from two Armenian graves in the neighbourhood of the town, closed in, as usual, with marbles abstracted from ancient soroi, and worked up so as to suit the tastes and purposes of their more recent owners.

I have drawn sketches in outline of these interesting relics, the workmanship of which sufficiently attests the rank and consideration of the family whose property they were.

The summits of both are surmounted with a circular arch, which in one is repeated at an interval of about half a foot. The curves are marked by sculpture in low relief.

The bodies of each are divided into compartments, which are, in the one I have particularly referred to, rather more numerous, and more elaborately worked. To three oblong rectangular spaces, of unequal breadths, which cross the stone, succeeds a fourth of much ampler dimensions, divided into four square compartments, with intermediate areas, on which the Armenians have sculptured some characteristic devices, relating most probably to the occupations of the deceased, but without altogether effacing the Greek ornaments. They have also introduced here, as in most of their grave-stones which I saw at Ak-Hissár, inscriptions in their language, but have used some precaution, which I should conclude arose rather from the exigency of the case, than taste, in selecting such parts of the monuments for that purpose as had not been pre-occupied by the Hellenic.

These last are, in consequence, almost perfect, and inform us of the following particulars.

Firstly; that a lady named Nanas, erected this monument for the use of her husband Apollonius, and her own, which intention was subsequently carried into effect by their sons, Apollonius and Asalius.

Secondly; that a person of the name of Andromachus Latypus, I conclude of the same family as the abovementioned, had been interred in the same soros. This name occurs in the depressed space which intervenes between two of the reliefs that run along the breadth of the stone, and immediately above the square compartments, into which its body is divided.

Thirdly; that a person called Zelas Latypus, whose name was engraved as a heading to the second stone, lay in the soros of which it formed a part; thus proving what I have stated above as to the ownership of these monuments. It is then recorded, in an intermediate space, that Domna, the daughter of Proteas and Tatias (individuals doubtless of the family of the Latypi), had done honour to the memory of her parents, that is, had fulfilled their intentions in the erection of the soros, by depositing their remains therein.

I have deemed the observation with respect to the names of the Latypi

worthy of being inserted here, as it leads at once to the restoration of an inscription which Mr. Fellows has copied from a grave in the same cemetery, but in a form which, I must be pardoned for observing, it would be difficult for the original engraver to recognize.*

I mention this also in illustration of the remarks on the subject of mechanical copying with which I commenced this memoir. The particular comment I reserve for a more suitable place than the pages of an abstract like the present.

I have thus conducted the audience which I have the honour of addressing, through those celebrated localities, the bare mention of the names of which awakens emotions of the deepest kind in the Christian's heart. However interesting their records—those I mean of their heathen state—may be in themselves, as conducing to the illustration of their history, their social institutions, or their local characteristics, I must for one confess, that such are not the sole causes which invest them in my eyes with their gorgeous and attractive drapery. I may say, with truth, that I never passed an hour within their mouldering palaces, their ruined halls, their prostrate shrines, their now silent and forsaken agoræ, their theatres, or their gymnasia, without the one absorbing reflection being present to my mind, that over these the beloved apostle of the blessed Jesus had exercised a spiritual rule, that here the apocalyptic angels had preached, and that within these precincts they had received those portentous warnings which but too truly, too faithfully, preluded the fate of their communities. There is an air and a sense of indescribable grandeur in those distant solitudes (for three of their number can be called by no other name), a grandeur incomparably superior to all that civilization, art, wealth, prosperity, could have bestowed on them. How is this? We know how difficult it is in the generality of cases to subject emotions to exact measures, or to reason with a geometrical precision on their causes; but here there is no occasion for any refined disquisitions. The very causes which are every day

* Travels, &c., vol. i. pp. 127, 323.

rendering them more valueless as schools of taste and design, which are every hour depriving them of their attractiveness in the eyes of the mere architect, or the mere virtuoso, are, in those of the reader of and believer in the Bible, enhancing their interest. The gorgeous ruins of the city of Diana, the desolated courts and shrines of Laodicea, the dethroned "Sardian Queen," address his heart with eloquence immeasurably more touching and more sublime than they could have done in the fulness of their beauty and magnificence. It is their position on the threshold of those prophecies which announce the events and develop the destinies of a better and higher than a mere political world: it is the Spirit quenched, the Candlestick removed, the Hour of retribution, the utter Rejection, which come home to his heart, imperishable monuments as they are of the righteous dealing, the truth, the providence of God.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 123, line 18, for *ἱεροπνία* read *ἱερομηνία*.
 — 137, — 21, for *legislature* read *legislation*.
 — 138, — 23, for *makes* read *make*.

Note on Page 147, Line 19.

I have expressed the last of the Greek numerals, in this inscription, by Σ , which is the letter approaching nearest to the form in the original. But, accurately speaking, not Σ , but $\Sigma\tau$ ($\sigma\tau\iota$), is the representative of 6 in the Greek notation:

The engraver of the titulus had, I feel persuaded, the last of these in view: and the reader will please to supply it in the note on the fifteenth line at mark †, or read the numerals thus, $\beta\rho'\pi'\epsilon'$.